

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT DANIEL O. GRAHAM OP-ED COLUMN
WASHINGTON POST TUESDAY MARCH 29 HEADED "KREMLIN DOVES AND
HAWKS: A 'FALLACIOUS NOTION.'"

2. THE RECENT SERIES OF COLUMNS IN THE POST BY VICTOR
ZORZA ABOUT HAWKS AND DOVES WITHIN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP IS
PALPABLE NONSENSE. WHEN A POST EDITORIAL PICKED UP THE
FALLACIOUS NOTION OF A COUNTERPART TO THE U.S. HAWK-DOVE
POLITICAL ALIGNMENT IN THE KREMLIN, IT BECAME TOO MUCH
FOR ANYONE REMOTELY FAMILIAR WITH THE FACTS TO BEAR IN
SILENCE.

3. BREZHNEV CAME TO POWER IN THE USSR VIA A COUP AGAINST
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NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV, WHICH WAS FULLY SUPPORTED BY THE
SOVIET MILITARY. ONE OF THE MAIN COMPLAINTS THE MILITARY
HAD AGAINST KHRUSHCHEV WAS THAT HE HAD ENTERTAINED TO SOME
DEGREE THE HERETICAL WESTERN DOCTRINE OF MUTUAL DETERRENCE.
HE HAD STATED PUBLICLY THAT BOTH SOCIETIES--CAPITALIST AND
COMMUNIST--WOULD BE DESTROYED IN A GENERAL NUCLEAR WAR.
HE CANCELLED NAVAL CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS, DEACTIVATED SOME

GROUND DIVISIONS AND REDUCED SOVIET FORCES TO A MERE 3.6 MILLION. THESE WERE AMONG THE "HARE-BRAINED SCHEMES" THAT THE MILITARY COULD NOT ABIDE.

4. BREZHNEV TOOK EXACTLY THE HAWKISH MEASURES REQUIRED OF HIM. HE POURED RESOURCES INTO THE SOVIET MILITARY MACHINE AT AN UNPRECEDENTED RATE. THE STRATEGIC ROCKET FORCES GOT SIX COMPLETELY NEW ICBM SYSTEMS AND NUMEROUS MODIFICATIONS AS WELL. THE BOMBER FORCE GOT A NEW STRATEGIC BOMBER. THE SOVIET NAVY GOT SEVERAL MODELS OF MISSILE LAUNCHING SUBMARINES AND A HIGH RATE OF ATTACK SUBMARINE AND SURFACE SHIP CONSTRUCTION. THE SOVIET ARMY GOT 30 MORE DIVISIONS, NEW TANKS AND ARMORED PERSONNEL CARRIERS, NEW TACTICAL MISSILES AND AN ENTIRE NEW FLEET OF TACTICAL AIRCRAFT FOR SUPPORT. BREZHNEV AND COMPANY COMMITTED 26 DIVISIONS TO CRUSH THE DEVIATIONS OF DUBCEK'S CZECHOSLOVAKIA FROM THE SOVIET MODEL. THIS IS BREZHNEV THE DOVE?

5. UNDER THE TUTELAGE OF CHAIRMAN BREZHNEV, THE HERETICAL NOTION OF KHRUSHCHEV THAT MILITARY FORCES MIGHT BETTER BE DESIGNED TO DETER RATHER THAN FIGHT AND WIN WARS HAS BEEN DISCARDED. ALTHOUGH HE OCCASIONALLY ARGUES THAT NUCLEAR WAR MENACES MANKIND, HE HAS NEVER REPEATED THE KHRUSHCHEV HERESY THAT THE SOVIET STATE WOULD PERISH IN A NUCLEAR WAR. FURTHER, HE HAS BOASTED THAT "PRECISELY" SOVIET MILITARY MIGHT HAS "FORCED" DETENTE UPON THE UNITED STATES. THERE IS NOT A SHRED OF EVIDENCE THAT BREZHNEV AND HIS ZORZA-ALLEGED DOVISH MAJORITY HAS STOPPED OR EVEN UNCLASSIFIED

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SLOWED ANY SOVIET MILITARY PROGRAM IN THE SALT-DETENTE ERA.

6. HOW CAN ONE CONCLUDE THAT AN EFFECTIVE DOVISH FACTION EXISTS AT ALL, LET ALONE DOMINATES THE KREMLIN'S PRESENT POLICIES?

7. BREZHNEV'S INSISTENCE ON FAST PROGRESS TOWARD NEW SALT AGREEMENTS, IN ZORZA'S THEORY, MEANS THAT HAWKS ARE DISCONTENT WITH THE RESULTS TO DATE AND THREATENING HIS POSITION. WHY SHOULD BREZHNEV NOT PRESS FOR QUICK NEW SALT AGREEMENTS? FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW, BOTH SALT AND DETENTE IN GENERAL HAVE AUGURED WELL FOR THE RELATIVE POWER OF THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS HIS OWN PERSONAL POWER. WHY SHOULD THE SOVIET MILITARY BALK AT SALT, WHICH TO DATE HAS RESTRAINED THEIR OPPONENTS' MILITARY PROGRAMS AND LEFT THEIR OWN UNFETTERED?

8. ZORZA NOTED THAT TWO MARSHALS HAD CHANGED JOBS.

KULIKOV MOVED FROM HIS JOB AS CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF

TO TAKE DIRECT COMMAND OF THE ENTIRE WARSAW PACT. HE WAS REPLACED BY OGARKOV. SINCE OGARKOV HAD BEEN THE MILITARY REPRESENTATIVE ON THE SOVIET SALT DELEGATION, ZORZA ASSUMES THAT HE IS A DOVE RELATIVE TO KULIKOV. HE PAINTS KULIKOV'S REASSIGNMENT AS PUNISHMENT OF A SORT FOR BEING A HAWK.

9. THIS IS PURE SPECULATION. THE KULIKOV TRANSFER IS BY NO MEANS A DEMOTION. COMMAND OF THE WARSAW PACT HAS IN THE PAST BEEN THE STEPPING STONE TO GREATER THINGS. GRECHKO WENT FROM THAT POSITION TO MINISTER OF DEFENSE. THERE IS NO REASON TO BELIEVE THAT OGARKOV'S VIEWS DIFFER FROM THOSE OF KULIKOV. HIS FORMER POSITION ON THE SOVIET SALT DELEGATION MEANS ONLY THAT HE WAS WELL TRUSTED BY THE MILITARY.

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10. AS FOR LT. COLONEL RYBKIN'S ARTICLE, ALSO CITED BY ZORZA, ZORZA REPORTS IT AS AN EXAMPLE OF CONVERSION FROM A HAWKISH TO A DOVISH VIEW. BUT RYBKIN HAS ALWAYS FOLLOWED THE PARTY LINE FAITHFULLY AND TODAY IS NOT DOVISH AT ALL. HE STATES THAT THERE WILL ALWAYS BE A REAL THREAT OF WAR UNTIL THE ENTIRE WORLD IS IN THE COMMUNIST CAMP. IF HIS ARTICLE IS READ IN FULL, IT IS APPARENT THAT IN HIS REMARK THAT MORE NUCLEAR WEAPONS ARE NOT HELPFUL, HE WAS TALKING TO THE UNITED STATES, NOT THE SOVIET UNION.

11. THE NOTION THAT SOME MIRROR-IMAGE OF THE U.S. SITUATION, INCLUDING ITS CIVILIAN-VERSUS-MILITARY CONTEST FOR RESOURCES, CAN BE ENTERTAINED ONLY BY THOSE IGNORANT OF THE NATURE OF THE SOVIET STATE. IN THE U.S.S.R., AS IN THE RUSSIA OF THE TSARS, THE MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT HAS BEEN THE BACKBONE OF SOCIETY, NOT A SOCIAL OVERHEAD AS IN THE DEMOCRATIC COUNTRIES OF THE WEST. WITH RELATIVE POWER SHIFTING TO THE FAVOR OF THE SOVIET UNION, WE CANNOT AFFORD MORE BLUNDERS BASED ON THIS BRAND OF BAD ANALYSTS. IN THE END THEY COULD PROVE FATAL.

(THE WRITER, FORMER HEAD OF THE DEFENSE INTELLIGENCE AGENCY, IS NOW A RESEARCH PROFESSOR AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI.) (END TEXT.)
CHRISTOPHER

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